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sentative of all democratic elements of the population." Later, at the Moscow Conference, the Western powers declared that they would believe such a government existed as soon as representatives of two political parties other than the Rumanian Workers' Party had been named to ministerial posts, and as soon as satisfactory guarantees had been given that freedom of speech and assembly as well as the right to vote without constraint had been assured. Dr. Groza complied by appointing the two desired ministers to the Cabinet without portfolio and by announcing that free elections would be held soon; but, as was to be anticipated in view of the fact that the Russian Army held the country in an iron grip, the Rumanian Workers' Party received 90-odd per cent of the vote. The ministers without portfolio promptly resigned, and there was nothing the Western powers could do about it save to register an emphatic protest. This they did in language suitably designed for the occasion.

The elections referred to were held on November 19, 1946. Almost precisely a year later the leader of the principal opposition party, Dr. Juliu Maniu, was sentenced to life imprisonment for high treason. Unquestionably this able and farsighted man, who had served the government and the people of Rumania well over many years and had been identified with every movement for reform and justice, was the foremost of the nation's citizens. King Michael abdicated on December 30 of the same year and fled from his native land. Thereupon the "People's Republic" was proclaimed, and every source of potential opposition to it was ferreted out and suppressed. A Constitution of the usual kind was adopted on April 13, 1948. Now no obstacle barred the way for putting the Soviet paradise plan into effect. The principal productive enterprises were declared the property of the State, and this likewise became the sole arbiter of the educational system. Collective farming was introduced. A novelty was that new elections were held during

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shall be communicated in advance of publication to the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

While thus making apparent that the Church was deprived of all liberty of action in areas of moral judgment concerning actions taken by the public authority, the law further stipulated that the salaries of "clergymen and officers of the religious denominations" would be paid in accordance with the regulations governing the civil service. In this fashion it was determined that all clergymen, on the one hand, had the rights accorded to the civil service but, on the other, assumed corresponding obligations—among them an oath of allegiance to the national Constitution.

Subsequently, on August 12, 1950, a decree dealing with the security of the State imposed the death penalty for the following offenses: treason to the nation; rendering "service to the enemy, or causing prejudice to the power of the state"; and procuring or transmitting state secrets to a foreign or an enemy power. The decree was directed primarily against the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church, because they were in communion with Rome. On July 6, 1950, another decree had provided a basis for expelling from Rumania the Papal Nuncio, Archbishop O'Hara, and his two assistants, Monsignor Kirk and Monsignor Del Mesti. Most of the Rumanian members of the Nuncio's staff were sentenced to imprisonment. Therewith an initial climax was reached in two years of fierce attack on the Churches and on the Roman Catholic Church in particular.

At this point a more detailed review of the religious situation in Rumania may help to clarify what has happened. Prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the 70 per cent of Rumanians adhering to the Orthodox Church were affiliated with the Patriarchate of Constantinople but enjoyed ecclesiastical autonomy. This Church, directed by a Holy Synod pre-

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659 793 in so far as the Catholic Church in Rumania is concerned. We must rather manifest our profound indignation. Millions of citizens have been deliberately wounded in the innermost core of their human feeling by the very authority to which there has been entrusted, in the presence of the nation and of the whole world, the defense of the interests of the people. Internecine strife is being fostered, the country is in tears over rampant injustice, and a wound gapes which cannot be healed over except by doing away with laws and measures which have struck and are now striking at the Catholic Church in the Rumanian People's Republic.

• [687] All the Bishops who signed this and similar fruitless appeals have since been sentenced. The initial blow was struck at all dioceses save those of Alba Iulia and Iasi. In June, 1949, the Bishops of these sees also were arrested on charges of high treason. There remained only Bishop Augustin Pacha, more than eighty years old, who in turn was found guilty and sentenced to forced labor. Some of the prelates are said to have been deported to Russia; and of the whereabouts of nearly all of them nothing definite is known. Thus the Roman Catholic Church was stripped of leadership, the government recognizing only the Vicars-general of two dioceses in Transylvania. These likewise refused to conform with Communist directives. Thereupon a ruthless assault on the lower clergy was inaugurated. On the basis of reports received by the Vatican, it is estimated that at least six hundred priests and religious have been arrested, tried, and sentenced. Thus there was made manifest exemplary and moving fidelity.

793 659 795 That some would prove less steadfast was to be anticipated, and in due time the government found a man willing to be the leader of a "National Church"—Andreas Agotha, an unfortunate priest whom the Holy See promptly excommunicated. Under him a congress was convened at Targul-Mures, on April 27, 1950, which created the "National Catholic Church,"